

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00  
INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 DOE-15 SOE-02 /131 W  
-----044479 191716Z /43

O 191635Z MAY 78  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9891

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 01 OF 02 GENEVA 07761

FOR IO/IEP LOU KAHN FROM AMBASSADOR VANDEN HEUVEL

E.O. 11652: N/A  
TAGS: ECIN, ECE, UR  
SUBJECT: SOVIET PRESS REPORT INDICATES INTENTION TO  
PURSUE ALL THREE HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS

REFERENCE MOSCOW 8959

1. FOLLOWING CABLE, GENEVA 6376, HAS BEEN SENT INFO TO  
AMEMBASSIES BRUSSELS AND MOSCOW AND USMISSION USNATO, NOW  
BEING REPEATED TO YOU FOR ACTION.

2. REFTTEL HAS BEEN READ WITH GREAT INTEREST. SEVERAL  
POINTS MAY BE WORTH NOTING IN TERMS OF BOTH THE 33RD  
SESSION OF THE ECE AND THE 1979 34TH SESSION.

3. IN MY PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS WITH THE LEADERS OF THE  
SOVIET DELEGATION, A.E. NESTORENKO AND V.S. PAJARSKY, THEY  
MADE A STRONG POINT OF DISASSOCIATING THE BREZHNEV NAME  
FROM THEIR PROPOSALS. THIS MAY HAVE BEEN IN RESPONSE TO MY  
DELIBERATE REFERENCE TO THE "BREZHNEV PROPOSALS" ON SEVERAL  
PUBLIC OCCASIONS DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF THE PLENARY WHERE  
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I INDICATED THAT THE US AND THE ECE WOULD GIVE IMPORTANT  
ATTENTION TO THE PROPOSALS NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THEIR SUB-  
STANCE BUT BECAUSE PRESIDENT BREZHNEV'S IDENTIFICATION WITH  
THEM MADE IT IMPORTANT AS A MATTER OF INTERNATIONAL COURTESY  
AND THE PROPOSALS BE GIVEN EVERY CONSIDERATION. (IT SEEMED  
TO ME THAT THE BREZHNEV IDENTIFICATION WOULD ULTIMATELY  
CAUSE THE SOVIETS DIFFICULTY BECAUSE IT WILL BE A PRESSURE

ON THEM TO PRODUCE AN ACCEPTABLE AGREEMENT WHICH OUR EXPERIENCE IN THE ENVIRONMENTAL FIELD INDICATES WILL NOT BE EASY FOR THEM). IN MY FIRST GENEVA MEETING WITH NESTORENKO HE SAID THE PROPOSALS SHOULD NOT BE CALLED THE "BREZHNEV PROPOSALS" SINCE THE CHIEFS OF MANY STATES WERE INTERESTED IN THEM AND THAT BREZHNEV WAS ONLY TRYING TO BRING THEM TO THE ATTENTION OF EUROPE, BECAUSE OF THEIR MERIT.

4. IN THE 33RD SESSION OF ECE, THE SOVIETS CONCENTRATED ON SEEKING A HIGH LEVEL MEETING WITHOUT DISCUSSING OR REFERRING TO THE SUBSTANTIVE DIFFICULTIES OF REACHING AN AGREEMENT IN A PROBLEM AREA SUCH AS TRANSBOUNDARY AIR POLLUTION (TBAP). FOR EXAMPLE, THE ECE RESOLUTION DEFINED GUIDELINES FOR THE PREPARATORY WORK TO BE DONE BY THE SENIOR ADVISORS WHICH WOULD HOPEFULLY RESULT IN A HIGH LEVEL MEETING ON THE ENVIRONMENT. THE SOVIETS NEVER QUESTIONED THE GUIDELINES EVEN THOUGH IN OUR OWN BILATERAL ENVIRONMENTAL EXPERIENCE WITH THEM WE KNOW THAT SEVERAL OF THE GUIDELINES IMPLY A COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE DATA THAT THEY WILL IGNORE, FIND DIFFICULT TO MEET, OR REJECT. I CAUTIONED THE PLENARY SESSION THAT ISSUES LIKE TBAP ARE COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT TO NEGOTIATE BECAUSE THEY SET IN MOTION MANY CONFLICTING NATIONAL INTERESTS. CITING THE EXPERIENCE IN OUR OWN COUNTRY IN TRYING TO ENACT FEDERAL LEGISLATION THAT AFFECTED THE VARYING INTERESTS OF 50 STATES, I SUGGESTED THAT ECE PARTICIPANTS THINK IN TERMS OF DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATION WITHIN THE ECE FRAMEWORK WHICH MAY RESULT IN LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PROPOSED AGREEMENTS IN 1979 BUT WHICH MAY ALSO EXTEND FOR A DECADE AS CONTINUING EFFORTS ARE MADE TO MAKE SUCH AGREEMENTS MORE SIGNIFICANT.

5. I BELIEVE THE US SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THE FORTHCOMING PREPARATORY WORK SO THAT THE INITIATIVE AT THE 34TH SESSION OF THE ECE IS WESTERN RATHER THAN SOVIET. IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE US APPOINT SENIOR ADVISORS FOR THE ENVIRONMENTAL PREPARATORY WORK WHO HAVE A DETAILED BACKGROUND IN OUR BILATERAL ENVIRONMENTAL ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS IN THE TECHNICAL SUBJECTS TO BE DISCUSSED. (HERBERT WISNER AND DON KING WERE EXTREMELY HELPFUL TO OUR DELEGATION TO THE ECE AND I HOPE THEY WILL CONTINUE THEIR INTEREST IN THIS EFFORT. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO RECOGNIZE THAT THE MAJOR DIFFICULTIES IN THE PREPARATORY WORK MAY COME FROM GREAT BRITAIN, FRG AND BELGIUM WHOSE REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE ECE SESSION MADE IT CLEAR THAT THERE WERE STRONG COMMERCIAL INTERESTS WITHIN THEIR COUNTRIES THAT WOULD OPPOSE THE FINANCIAL COSTS OF TBAP ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROLS. IF OUR OBJECTIVE IS A SIGNIFICANT ENVIRONMENTAL AGREEMENT WITHIN THE ECE DURING THE NEXT TWO YEARS WE WILL HAVE TO WORK CLOSELY WITH OUR EUROPEAN ALLIES TO ENCOURAGE

THEM TOWARD AN IMPORTANT SUBSTANTIVE RESULT.

6. THE SOVIETS MUST KNOW THAT BY RESERVING ON THE PRIORITY TOPICS FOR THE PREPARATORY WORK AND BY THREATENING TO INTRODUCE A NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL TOPICS FOR ECE DISCUSSIONS, THEY WILL JEOPARDIZE ANY PROSPECTS FOR A HLM IN THE NEAR FUTURE. THEIR PURPOSES WILL BECOME CLEAR DURING THE PREPARATORY WORK. IF THE PRIMARY SOVIET OBJECTIVE IN SEEKING A HLM IS A POLITICAL ONE--NAMELY A PRETENSE AT TAKING AN IMPORTANT INITIATIVE IN CSCE DISCUSSIONS RATHER THAN GENUINE SUBSTANTIVE CONCERN FOR EUROPE'S ENVIRONMENT--WE CAN BEST SERVE US AND ECE INTERESTS BY STRONG AND

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-10 EUR-12 NEA-11  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00  
INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
EB-08 OMB-01 TRSE-00 DOE-15 SOE-02 /131 W  
-----044855 191715Z /43

O 191635Z MAY 78  
FM USMISSION GENEVA  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9892

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CREATIVE PARTICIPATION IN THE PREPARATORY WORK SO THAT THE SOVIETS RATHER THAN OUR ALLIES WILL HAVE TO ANSWER QUESTIONS AT THE NEXT ECE SESSION REGARDING THE PURPOSE AND POSSIBILITY OF THE PROPOSED HIGH LEVEL MEETING AND ANY DEFICIENCIES IN THE PREPARATORY WORK. VANDEN HEUVEL

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## Message Attributes

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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** PRESS COMMENTS, ECONOMIC COOPERATION, MEETINGS  
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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Executive Order:** N/A  
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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
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